

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-10 SAB-01 SAM-01 AID-05

OMB-01 EB-07 ACDA-05 CU-02 SR-02 ORM-01 /095 W
----- 011825

O R 141310Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6671

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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E O 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR PINT, XF, IS, EG, US

SUBJECT: LABOR PARTY DEBATE ON GOI APPROACH TO
NEGOTIATIONS GETS UNDERWAY

REF: TEL AVIV 2904

1. SUMMARY: LABOR ALIGNMENT KNESSET FACTION AND
EXECUTIVE POLITICAL DEBATE MAY 13 BROUGHT INTO
SHARP RELIEF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO BASIC
VIEWPOINTS REGARDING APPROACH TO ARAB/ISRAEL NEG-
OTIATIONS: (A) CURRENT GOI POSITION, EMPHASIZING
CONTINUATION OF EFFORTS TO REVIVE NEGOTIATIONS FOR
INTERIM GOE/GOI SETTLEMENT, AND (B) MODERATE LINE OF
EBAN-SAPIR-- MAPAM IN FAVOR OF OVERALL GOI PEACE
INITIATIVE. AT PRESENT, MOST OF LABOR PARTY,
PARTICULARLY EX-RAFI AND AHDUT AVODAH
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COMPONENTS, ARE FIRMLY BEHIND GOI, WITH "DOVES"
IN MINORITY. DEBATE IS TO BE CONTINUED NEXT
WEEK. END SUMMARY.

2. LABOR ALIGNMENT KNESSET FACTIN AND EXECUTIVE POLITICAL DEBATE MAY 13 WAS LOW KEYED UNPOLEMICAL EVENT, WITH PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS AVOIDING DIRECT REFERENCE TO ISSUE OF EBAN CRITICISM OF GOI FOREIGN POLICY AND RABIN LEADERSHIP (REFTTEL). MAIN FOCUS OF DEBATE WAS ON SUBSTANCE OF OPTIONS FOR NEXT STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS, WITH FONMIN ALLON DEFENDING CURRENT GOI LINE AGAINST ADVOCATES OF OVERALL PEACE INITIATIVE LED BY EBAN SAPIR AND MAPAM LEADERSHIP. DEBATE IN EFFECT REFLECTED BASIC DIVISION BETWEEN "ACTIVISTS" AND "MODERATES" WHICH EXISTED INSIDE LABOR ALIGNMENT EVEN BEFORE OCTOBER WAR. FOLLOWING ACCOUNT IS BASED ON COMPOSITE OF PRESS REPORTS.

3. ALLON, OPENING THE DEBATE, STATED THAT OPPORTUNITY STILL EXISTED FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERIM GOE/GOI AGREEMENT. ALLON NOTED THAT LAST KISSINGER SHUTTLE COULD HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IF SECRETARY HAD PURSUED IT FOR TWO OR THREE ADDITIONAL ROUNDS AND EGYPT HAD BEEN MORE PATIENT. INTERIM AGREEMENT, HE BELIEVED, WAS STILL FEASIBLE PROVIDED THAT (A) EGYPT ENTERED INTO NON-USE-OF-FORCE COMMITMENT FOR LONG (UNDEFINED) PERIOD, (B) LEGAL BASE OF AGREEMENT WAS INEEED FIRM AND BINDING ON ALL PARTIES, AND (C) GOE MADE STRONGER COMMITMENT THAN IT HAD BEEN PREPARED TOMAKE PREVIOUSLY TO REDUCE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WARFARE AGAINST ISRAEL. ALLON VIGOROUSLY DENIED MAPAM CHARGE THAT GOI POLICY WAS IMMOBILE AND EXPRESSED GOI'S CONTINUED READINESS TO ENTER COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS WITH ARAB STATES ON BASIS OF RECIPROCAL POLITICAL QUID PRO QUOS FOR TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWALS. ALLON ALSO REJECTED MAPAM PROPOSAL FOR GOI TO PRESENT OVERALL PLAN AND MAP OF FINAL BORDERS AT GENEVA, STATING THAT IT WAS ILLUSION TO BELIEVE THAT PEACE WOULD BE OBTAINED BY SUCH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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INITIATIVES. ARABS WOULD REGARD ANY SUCH MAP AS NEW OPENING GOI POSITION, AND STIPULATE ADDITIONAL WITHDRAWALS UNACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL AS BASISFOR SETTLEMENT.

4. FORMER FONMIN ABBA EBAN, REPEATED HIS CALL OF RECENT DAYS FOR GOI TO DECIDE NOW ON ITS ULTIMATE PEACE OBJECTIVES, ADDING THAT GROWING BODY OF ISRAELI OPINION WAS DEMANDING EVOLUTION OF BROAD NATTIONAL CONSENSUS ON BASIC ISSUES OF PEACE AND FUTURE BORDERS. EBAN SAID ISRAEL IN OVERALL PEACE PROPOSAL SHOULD DEMAND TACTI-

CALLY SIGNIFICANT BUT SMALL BORDER CHANGES, WITH MAJORITY OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES BEING RETURNED TO ARAB STATES. TERRITORIAL "NEURALGIC SPOTS" WHICH REQUIRED SOLUTION INCLUDED GOLAN HEIGHTS, UNITED JERUSALEM, RAFAH JUNCTION AND SHARM EL SHEIKH. FOR LAST OF THESE JURIDICAL POSSIBILITIES FOR ISRAELI CONTROL MERITED CONSIDERATION.

5. EBAN THEN OUTLINED POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS WHICH, IN HIS VIEW, ISRAELS SHOULD DEMAND IN FRAMEWORK OF OVERALL SETTLEMENT:

- (A) FULL-FLEDGED PEACE TREATY, EMBODYING POLITICAL RECOGNITION AND END TO STATE OF WAR:
- (B) END TO HOSTILE ACTIONS BY IRREGULARS:
(PRESUMABLY THIS MEANS TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS):
- (C) IRON-CLAD DEMILITARIZATION ARRANGEMENTS:
- (D) PROVISIONS FOR MARITIME RIGHTS OF ALL PARTIES:
- (E) END TO ECONOMIC WARFARE:
- (F) END TO HOSTILE PROPAGANDA:
- (G) FREE TRAFFIC OF FOREIGN TOURISTS:
- (H) TRADE TIES, CULTURAL RELATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (THOUGH THEIR ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION COULD COME GRADUALLY):
- (I) REGIONAL COOPERATION:
- (J) END TO POLITICAL HARRASSMENT IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS:
- (K) MUTUAL COMPENSATION FOR ARAB REFUGEES AND JEWISH REFUGEES FROM ARAB LANDS:
- (L) FREE ACCESS TO HOLY PLACES:
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(M) OPEN BORDERS, ESPECIALLY IN MANDATORY PALESTINE.

5. FORMER FINMIN (PRESENTLY CHAIRMAN JEWISH AGENCY) PINHAS SAPIR, WHO HAS BEEN NOTABLY SILENT ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES SINCE LAST JUNE, ASSOCIATED HIMSELF FIRMLY WITH EBAN'S PROPOSALS. SAPIR PAINTED EXTREMELY GLOOMY PICTURE OF ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IF CURRENT DEADLOCK CONTINUES. HE SAID THAT STATUS QUO COULD NOT LAST INDEFINITELY, GIVEN ISRAEL'S MOUNTING DEBTS AND GROWING DEFENSE BUDGET COMBINED WITH SLOWDOWN IN GROWTH OF GNP AND MANPOWER DRAIN PRODUCED BY MILITARY SERVICE REQUIREMENTS.

6. MAPAM SECRETARY GENERAL MEIR TALMI IN SEVERE CRITICISM OF CURRENT GOI LINE SAID THAT GOI HAD VIRTUALLY NO CHOICE BUT TO DRAW MAP OF FINAL BORDERS AND TO SEEK FINAL SETTLEMENT NOW ON BASIS OF UNSC 242. AVOIDANCE OF CLEAR CUT DECISIONS NOW WOULD

ONLY COST ISRAEL DEARLY LATER ON. TALMI SAID THAT HE WAS DISSATISFIED WITH ALLON'S VAGUE INDICATIONS OF ONGOING INITIATIVES AND WANTED TO KNOW SPECIFICALLY WHAT THESE WERE. WHILE NOT BLAMING GOI FOR BREAKDOWN OF NEGOTIATIONS IN MARCH, HE SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW GOI COULD HAVE TAKEN GREATER RISKS AND SHOULD HAVE EVALUATED MORE CAREFULLY IMPLICATIONS OF SUSPENSION BEFORE FINAL DECISION WAS REACHED.

7. MAPAM "OLD GUARD" LEADER YAACOV HAZAN ALSO SAID THAT GOI MUST NOW DECIDE ON FINAL BORDERS BEFORE U.S. AND ARABS PRESENTED ISRAEL WITH FAIT ACCOMPLI.. SIX MONTHS FROM NOW, HE WARNED, ISRAEL MIGHT FIND THAT IT NO LONGER ENJOYED OPTION OF BEING ABLE TO PRESENT ITS OWN POSITION.

8. SAME FORUM IS TO CONVENE AGAIN NEXT WEEK FOR WRAP-UP SESSION.

9. COMMENT: DEBATE DID NOT PRODUCE SURPRISES
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BUT IT DID PROVIDE BADLY-NEEDED OPPORTUNITY FOR MAJOR LABOR ALIGNMENT PERSONALITIES TO EXPRESS THEIR DIFFERING VIEWS ON FACE-TO-FACE BASIS RATHER THAN THROUGH NEWSPAPERS INTERVIEWS. APPEARANCE OF OLD GUARD (INCLUDING DAYAN, WHO DID NOT SPEAK) UNDERSCORED IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES UNDER CONSIDERATION, AND AWARENESS THAT ISRAEL IS ON THRESHOLD OF CRITICAL PERIOD. AS FAR AS WE CAN JUDGE, MAJORITY OF LABOR PARTY AT THIS JUNCTURE REMAINS FIRMLY UNITED IN SUPPORT OF OFFICIAL GOI LINE WHICH WAS CUCCINCTLY EXPRESSED BY PRIMIN RABIN EARLIER THIS WEEK IN ADMONITION TO HOLD FIRM AND MAKE INCREASED EFFORT TO WIN SUPPORT IN US. (REFTEL PARA 5).
VELIOTES

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